1644.2.

A DISCOVRSE CONCERNING THE GROVNDS & CAVSES of this miserable civill war; Wherein *Ireland* is exhausted, *England* wasted, and *Scotland* likely to be imbroyled: and wherein not only Liberty, but Religion is endangered, &c.

KING CHARLES was within few later yeeres, quietly possest of three flourishing Kingdomes; and for a while, as his subjects seemed to enjoy all the blandishments of peace under his raigne, to the envie of other Nations; so hee appear'd eminently glorious, in the inviolable loyalty and obedience of his subjects; to the inciting of envie amongst other Princes.

But to that serene, delightfull calme, a most dismall tempest hath since succeeded; and in so short a traverse of time a more wofull, desperate Catastrophe (then this which now confounds both King and subjects) was scarce ever brought about in any other Country. All our gamesome Holidayes past, seeme now to us like the sleepe of *Ionah* in the ship, the trance thereof only lockt up our senses for a while, that we might be betrayed to the greater horror and amazement, when the incursion of unexpected calamities should immediatly seize us under so dead and stupid a condition. *Ireland* already, is become as [illegible]

ſpectacle as the ruthleſſe hand of war ever made any ſince *Veſpaſians* dayes: and *England*, though it ſinkes a little more ſlowly, yet is in the poſture of ſinking, and is not to be ſupported but by a divine hand more then ordinary: and laſtly, *Scotland* is but one degree onely more removed from deſtruction. The greater the Popiſh faction is in *Scotland*, and the more potent that Court-party there is, which ſuggeſts to it ſelfe probable advantages out of the ſhipwrack of broken *England*, the more inevitably is that Nation owned and deſtin'd to the ſame ruine as *England*; let not dreames infatuate, ſhe muſt expect the ſame line to be ſtretched over her, as *England* has, if ſhe prevent not her fate by ſome ſiſterly aſſiſtance, whileſt it is thus diſtant, ſhe ſhall certainly unpitied periſh at its neerer approach.

But the Queſtion is, Whence did theſe unnaturall broyles ſpring and ariſe; Hath the Kings miſgovernment, or the Nations rebellious diſpoſition, cauſed theſe ſudden diſtempers? has all this diſcord beene ſtirr'd principally by Eccleſiaſticall or Civill Perſons? and have their ends been temporall or ſpirituall? How does that commotion which was in *Scotland* differ in cauſe from ours in *England*; or this in *England* from that in *Ireland*? Has it beene the ſame deſigne carryed on for many yeeres together, from whoſe maturity at length all our troubles in all the three Nations have been derived? Or have the *Scots* occaſionally aimed at one thing, the *Iriſh* at another, and the *Engliſh* at another? If the Rebels in *Ireland*, and the Parliament in *England* have purpoſes diametrically oppoſite, how is it that the King proteſts againſt both? how comes it, that he wages a war upon the Parliament, that is as favourable to the *Iriſh*, as deſtructive to the *Engliſh*? And if the *Scots* and the *Engliſh* propoſe the ſame thing, how is it that the *Engliſh* are thus implacably Proſecured, whileſt the *Scots* are friendly intreated? How is it, that Papiſts are ſo far united, yea, even in *Ireland* where they pretend for the King, contrary to the acknowledgement of our Court, yet all of them move undevided, and in *England*, where they fight for the

King

King, and are accordingly entertained and allowed so to doe; yet still they are unanimous, whereas Protestants hold no perfect correspondence any where, in *Ireland* they joyne against Papists, yet favour the Papists cause in *England*; and in *England* they fight under Popish Banners, and by consequence maintaine the *Romish* faith, both in *England* and *Ireland*? And if these miseries have beene not meere late accidentall events, but the studyed and prepared accomplishments and productions of divers former yeeres, then whether is't more probable, that the Parliament, hath beene this long time busie in plotting against the Court, or the Court against the Parliament?

To give satisfaction to all men in all these Queeries, will be difficult; but to give satisfaction to all honest Protestants, and to convince all our most subtill enemies, be they Protestants or Papists, will not be impossible; and therefore my utmost skill shal endevour it. And if this age will not give me credit therein, I am certaine the next will; I will commandingly say, That it shall without dissent and deniall receive and acknowledge these truths which I now deliver.

The sonnes of the *Iewes* erected Trophyes, and built Monuments of honour for those Prophets which had been stoned in the ages before, and yet at the same time, perhaps they maliciously murdered the true successors of the same Prophets; such difference is there betwixt the evidence of present and past truth; nevertheless, I shall for the present lye the lesse obnoxious to contradiction or distrust, because I shall not so much insist upon conjectures or nude averments of my owne, as the censures of strangers and Papists; and the judgements of other Statesmen, whose partiality herein is the lesse to be suspected.

The great tyranie and usurpation of *Roman* Prelates, who (to purchase to themselves an Ecclesiasticall Empire, more large and uncontroleable then any temporall Monarch ever challenged) had perverted Religion and innovated the whole frame of Christianity; began to be discovered to many in *Eng-*

land about 120 yeeres since: *Henry* the eighth also, so farre as his owne Crowne was concerned therein, was willing to countenance the discovery; but as for a totall reformation of Religion, or redemption of his subjects liberty from popish thraldome, no such thought ever entred into his breast. 'Twas indifferent to him on the same day, and in the same place, to hang a Papist maintaining the Popes supremacy, and to burne a Protestant denying those corruptions of Religion whereupon that supemacy was founded: so indigested and rude a Chaos of Doctrine was that which he sought to authorise and to daub over with his untempered morter. *Edward* the sixth, by a more blessed illumination, set himselfe to pull downe the whole fabricke, and to raze the very foundation of Hierarchy; and had it not been a worke of more yeeres, then it pleased God to adde to his life, hee surely had not left one stone upon another. Queen *Mary* set her selfe as entirely to repaire the Popes Empire, as her brother did to ruine it; yea, even to the effusion of much blood, with a more fierce zeale she laboured in it, and had not death overtaken her, and the hand of God otherwise crossed her, perhaps no hopes had been left for a new restauration under her successor. Queen *Elizabeth*, with as perfect an integrity as either her brothers was in maintenance of truth, or her sisters in maintenance of superstition, applyed her selfe and her utmost power to restore Religion againe in full conformity to her brother, and opposition to her sister.

Two admirable Councellors she had, *Cecyll* and *Bacon*, both cordiall and totally addicted to the Protestant Religion: the honour of whom leaves her honour unquestionable; for as much as to choose good instruments is the noblest testimony of goodnesse: and the influence of Princes upon servants, is greater then that of servants upon Princes. I have heard that the then Earle of *Pembrooke* being sollicited by other Court Grandees, to enter into a confederacie with them about some alteration in Church and State, he told them plainly, he durst not venture his manner of *Wilton* in the businesse, unlesse *Cecyll* and

and *Bacon* were first hanged at the Court gate; and to hang them would be a matter not to be compassed, till they with their Rhetoricke in *Cheapside* should avert the Citizens hearts from them, and that he left as a fond conceit. Nevertheless, in censure of Queen *Elizabeth*, some have said that she swept the roome cleane, but yet left all the dust heaped up behind the doore, and did not carry it forth as she ought to have done. Their meaning, I conceive, is, that though she much awed and restrained both Prelates and Papists, so as they durst not attempt any thing against the constitution of this State, during her raigne; yet she left them not in so desperate a condition, but that they did recover strength, and reunite againe after her death. This censure seemes to me too harsh: for Prelates without the copulation of Papists to gender a filthy spawne upon them, are not of any considerable danger; and Papists by her long and prosperous raigne, were as much quelled and disabled, as possible they could be. If any dust was left behind the doore, 'twas because her life-time was not extensive enough for the carrying it forth; forthe reduction of *Ireland* was very late, shee scarce survived it, and yet to make the *Irish* Protestants, was of farre more difficultie, and would consume longer time then to make them subjects.

The propogation of the true Faith therefore in *Ireland*, was a taske which Queen *Elizabeth* was of necessity to leave to her successors; and 'tis very probable, had they begun where shee desisted, and not deviated from her resolution, that Kingdome had long ere this, afforded as many Protestants as subjects; whereas now it denyes both: for doubtlesse Q. *Elizabeth* at her decease, left *Ireland* in better disposition to conforme to *England*, then she found *England* in at her sisters decease to revolt from *Rome*, and therefore with the same industry her successors might have done the same in *Ireland* as she had done in *England*. But alas, no such course was take there, we have reason to think rather that Popery was cherished and preserv'd in *Ireland*, to make way for these tragicall divisions, then that there was any

deſigne or undertaking to plant *Proteſtantiſme* in it, for the eſtabliſhing further union between the nations: The example of Q. *Elizabeth*, to whom the protection of God was as conſtant in ſaving her from the bloody Emiſſaries of *Rome*, did not work ſo ſtrongly to animate King *Iames*: as the Apoſtacie of *Henry* the *French* King, whom God deſerted for his deſertion, did ſerve to intimidate him. The revolt of *Henry* the fourth, who gained the Title of Great by his warlike atchievements, and the horrible conjuration of the Powder Traytors here in *England* made ſo ſtrong impreſſion upon the ſoft and mild temper of King *Iames*; that to temporiſe a little with *Rome*, for better ſecurity of his Perſon, appeared at that time very ſeaſonable; wherefore to dally with Antichriſt a little, letters were written to Cardinall *Perrone*, and anſwers received about a reconciliation of Religions, and in order thereunto, the rigour of penall lawes was rebated; nay, countenance was ſhewed to Papiſts, the grandour of Prelates and pompe of Ceremonies in the Church began to be affected. The neerer alſo that King *Iames* his end approached, the more it reſembled *Salomons*, and grew tainted with the foule ſymptomes of a declination; in ſo much that ſcarce any but Papiſts were admitted to governe his Councels, and then the whole Kingdome began to be expoſed as a prey, to *Spaniſh*, *French*, *Italian* penſioners. It was well obſerved by the Duke of *Roan* that no Prince in *Europe* ſo much oppoſed his owne intereſts, both in civill and religious affaires as King *Iames*; for, doubtleſſe the Pope by his agents in all Church matters, was more potent then the King himſelfe; and ſo was *Gundamore* in matters of State, had not the *French* and *Dutch*, and ſome other Nations interfered with the Pope and *Spaniard*, and given gold for ſome part in us rather to ſave us, then that we ſhould be loſt to their enemies; doubtleſſe we had been diſpoſed of quickly; our happineſſe was, that *France* was liberall enough to buy us from *Spain*, and *Spain* liberall enough to buy us from *France*, *&c.* though our miſery was, that both ſides pulled away more from us, then they parted withall from themſelves.

themſelves. And now when three Kingdomes are under the ſubjection of one Prince, who is under the ſubjection of one luſtfull, raſh, young Favourite, and that Favourite ſolely at the devotion of his vitious, opprobrious, miſchievous mother, and that mother a meere Votareſſe to Rome, utterly forfeited, reſigned, and ſold to the commands of Jeſuites: When our miſerable Nations are in this ridiculous, prepoſterous poſture of government, who can wonder that a Spaniſh or French Match for our Prince ſhould be deſigned? As great a maſſe of treaſure might have been received with a German Lady, and that with leſſe expence (for the portion of Spaine or France can ſcarſe equall the charge of fetching it) all that can be ſaid is, Piſtols and Patachoons are more valuable than Dollars, in our judgement. Alliance alſo amongſt Princes, if it be of any, it is of dangerous conſequence, it is certaine to produce reall enmitie and emulation: but it is uncertaine to produce ſo much as a ſhadow of amitie and union, eſpecially amongſt Princes of the Romiſh Religion. If we negotiate concerning a marriage with the Spaniſh *Infanta*, 'tis neceſſarie that wee keep faire intelligence with France, and capitulate ſtrongly with the German Princes: and if wee break off with Spaine, and treat with the French Lady, 'tis neceſſarie that wee enter into a new confederacie with Spaine, and prepare a Fleet for the Iſle of Rhees. So much weaker than cobwebs are the bonds of matrimony amongſt ambitious Monarchs.

So nothing alſo may be ſaid againſt the inceſtuous extractions of the Houſe of Auſtria, and the Florentine mixtures of the Houſe of Burbon; whereas the nobilitie, chaſtitie, and beautie of the German Dames, hath ever been not only beyond all exception, but alſo beyond all compariſon. Nothing then but Poperie (unleſſe wee will add alſo the manifold miſchiefes of Poperie) could be aimed at in a Popiſh Alliance by thoſe devilliſh Engineers, which were the inſolent Lords of our Lords, or rather of our Lords, Lords, Lords.

And if we deſire further ſatisfaction therein, let us conſider the

the ſubſtance of the Popes letter written the 20 of April, 1623. to our Prince in Spaine, and our Princes Anſwer thereunto, as they are faithfully tranſlated, and regiſtred by *Du Cheſne* the French Geographer, in his Book, fol. 1162.

The Popes Rhetorick in briefe flowes thus:

Moſt noble Prince: the former Kings of Britain have been very famous for their devotion to the Popes Chaire, and now though the ſtate of the Engliſh Church be altered, yet the Court is adorned with ſuch morall vertues, as may ſupport our charitie; and the more the glorie of your moſt clement Father, and the reſentment of your royall nature (or inclination) delights us, the more ardour there is in us, to open the gates of Heaven to you. We commend your deſigne, which hath directed you to take a journey into Spaine, to allye your ſelfe to the Houſe of Auſtria, it elevates us to the hope of extraordinarie advantage; our open teſtimony is in this preſent affaire, that you are he which has the principall care and regard of our Prelacie: for ſince you deſire to take in marriage a daughter of Spaine, we eaſily conjecture that your Progenitours Zeale may againe revive in your ſoule; and its not credible, that hee that loves ſuch alliance ſhould hate the Catholike Religion, or take delight in oppreſſing the holy Seat. Therefore publike interceſſion is made continually by our command, that you may be put into poſſeſſion of that moſt noble heritage, which your Anceſtours have purchaſed for you, to defend the authoritie of the Soveraigne Biſhop, and to combat againſt the monſters of hereſie. The moſt ſacred Kings of England came formerly from England to Rome accompanied with Angels, to honour and doe homage to the Prince of the Apoſtles in his Chaire Apoſtolicall: let their actions be as ſo many voyces of God, to exhort you to the ſame, and to bring you back againe into the lap of the Romane Church. Their ſighs and groanes are inceſſant for your ſalvation, and you cannot give greater conſolation to Chriſtendome, than to put the Prince of the Apoſtles into poſſeſſion of your moſt noble Iſle, holding his authoritie as the defence of your Kingdomes, and as a Divine Oracle. Our great charitie makes us deſire, that you and your royall

Father

Father may be enobled with the names of Deliverers and Reſtaurateurs of the ancient paternall Religion of Britaine: and the care of our charitie in this is no other, than to procure your happineſſe.

The Anſwer in ſhort is thus couched.

Moſt holy Father: I received your Sanctities diſpatch with grand contentment, and with a reſpect beſeeming the pietie and benevolence thereof. I have read the Elogies of my Royall Progenitours, who have expoſed their eſtates and lives for the exaltation of the holy Chaire, (ſet before mine eyes by your Holineſſe for imitation) with pleaſure unexpreſſible, and as juſtly deſerved by them. Neither was their courage againſt the enemies of the Croſſe leſſe, than the thought and care which I have to unite all Chriſtian Princes: nor doe I eſteeme it a greater honour to be deſcended of ſo great Princes, than to repreſent them in the Zeale of their pietie. The knowledge which I have of my moſt honour'd Fathers mind, and the concurrence of his Catholike Majeſtie, to whom the preſent diviſions of Chriſtian Princes is ſo grievous; and the fore-ſight of your Holineſſe, who judged this marriage with the Infanta *of Spaine neceſſarie for procuring of publike union, and therefore deſigned it, are great encouragements to me. Wherefore 'tis moſt certaine, I ſhall never be ſo extremely affectionate to any thing in the world, as to ſeek alliance with a Prince that hath the ſame ſenſe of true Religion with my ſelfe. I have been alwayes verie far from encouraging novelties, or being a partie in any faction againſt the Catholike, Apoſtolike, Roman Religion: but have ſought all occaſions to remove ſuch ſuſpitions from reſting on me. And for the future, ſince wee all beleeve in one Ieſus Chriſt, I will ſtraine all my power to have but one religion and one faith; and I am reſolved to ſpare nothing in the world, but to ſuffer all manner of diſcommodities, even to the hazard of life and eſtate, for the effecting hereof. It reſts only, that I thank your Holineſſe for your permiſſion and accord herein; and I pray God to bleſſe you, for the great travaile which your Holineſſe hath ſuſtained in his Church.*

If this was Court-diſſimulation, Gods name was too far uſed in it, and the diſſimulation has extended further than to language; the maine affaires of our Court and Church, for many yeares together, have been conformable to the ſame expreſſions. And if here was plaine meaning without diſſimulation, no words of man can more fully and clearly juſtifie Poperie, and proteſt againſt the novelties and hereſies of the Reformed Churches than theſe do. And the Pope, it ſeemes, ſuſpected no diſſimulation herein, nor his Councellours, and principall Miniſters, (and yet they are not uſually gulled, or blinded, or out-done in that kind of Craft) and for proofe hereof, I will inſtance in Father *Iohn de Monte-Major* of the Societie of *Ieſus*, and I will be verie briefe herein, and confine my ſelfe only to him. This Jeſuite was a ſubtile Stateſ-man (as we may perceive by his arguments now in print) and in the *Iunto* at Madrid, when the marriage of the *Infanta* with our Prince was upon debate, for anſwer to ſuch difficulties and objections as ſome other of the *Iunto* had offered to oppoſe the marriage, he divers times inſiſted upon ſuch points as theſe: *Since the Prince is a man ſettled in his manners, and makes great account of our holy Law, it may with ſufficient probabilitie be hoped, that by the good example of the moſt illuſtrious* Infanta, *and all her Attendants, both men and women, and by the holineſſe and doctrine of her Confeſſour, he will be eaſily brought to our holy faith.* fol. 6. a. *And therefore as we have ſeene that the Prince and his father have kept their agreement made at the Treatie of peace, for the well uſing of Catholikes; and we are informed out of England, that this yeare in the holy week within London, there have been at the Communion* 4000 *Catholikes in the Embaſſadours houſe, and that they have made* 40 *monuments, no body ſpeaking one word to controll them:* fol. 7. a. *Both the Prince and his father doe extremely deſire the friendſhip of his Holineſſe, and of Spaine, which* Henry *the eighth little did eare for: and that's the reaſon which moveth the Prince and his father to procure this marriage, is to eſtabliſh the ſaid friendſhip with the Apoſtolike See, and the Crowne of Spaine,* fol. 7. b.

Another

Another principall thing to be observed is, that the Prince (as all other English and French Heretiks doe) believe that we are saved, keeping the religion of the Church of Rome. fol. 8.b. *There are sufficient signes shewing that the King of England is well affected to our Religion, since it appeares hee with such care and paines endevours to match his son with a spouse so much Catholike, daughter to so Catholike Parents, and hee being the only Heire of his Kingdome, against the advice of all the Hereticks, and all his Councellours, and all the enemies of this Crowne, hath sent him with great danger of his health and life, &c. All which is a great signe, that hee being moved with some great light from Heaven, desires to forsake the new Religion he professeth, and to returne to the old one professed by his Predecessours, for so many ages. The Prince gives cleare testimony to be well affected to our holy Law, since hee believeth, and hath spoken it to divers persons, that those that follow the same are saved in it, &c. being Grand-child to a Grand-mother that dyed a Martyr.* fol. 9.a. *Thus great hope may be, that the whole Kingdome shall be reduced to the Catholike Faith.* fol. 9.b. *It is to be noted how earnestly this match hath been pursued and treated for, both with his Holinesse and other persons, debated in many* Junto's *by most learned men.* fol. 10.b. *There shall be kept a publike Church in London for the Catholikes, a Bishop of that Citie, libertie of conscience, the children shall be brought up by their mother (the* Infanta*) till they be fourteene yeares of age, &c.*

Where such great Agents of the Hierarchy have not only delivered their judgements so plainly, but also set forth the reasons whereupon their judgements are grounded so clearly, I shall forbeare any further to deliver mine. These things are publike enough in the Spanish tongue. But let us stay no more upon times so long agoe elapsed, let us for brevitie sake omit all discourse concerning the wars in Bohemia, the Palatinate, Rochell, and other countries, where our false promises of supplyes and aids, purposely (as is thought) destroyed the Protestant cause; let us now lightly passe over the former part of these last twentie yeares, and chiefly fix our discourse

Library of the UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY New York

upon the alterations and innovations of the latter part therof. Whilſt the Queene was verie young, and the plot of our Hierarchiſts not fully ripe, the Babyloniſh Myſteries were not fit to be revealed: and yet even in thoſe times, the work went on darkly and inſenſibly, and ſome uſe was made of the verie looſneſſe and exceſſe of thoſe times, to help on the perfection thereof.

This violent ſharp malady, of which we labour ſo diſtreſſedly at this preſent, began to ſeize the vitals of this State, long before its violence appeared, and the venome thereof, as if it were of affinitie with that of the *Tarantula*, whilſt it was in its ſlow growth, cauſed rather fits of jollitie, than pangs of dolour in us. That which is now murther, rapine, lamentation, was within theſe twentie yeeres masking, triumphing, revelling; ſo that hee that writes the ſtorie of our overthrow, muſt ſay that we drunk, and danced, and ſported our ſelves to death: ſome mortall and noxious potions may yet be delicate to the palate, and others of medicinall and ſalubrious vertue may offend the taſte verie much: ſo it is with times, ſome abounding in diſſolute merriment, may yet conduce to a Nations overthrow, whilſt others more ſad and uncouth may be helpfull towards a recoverie. 'Tis not juſt therefore in the enemies of Parliaments, to aſcribe the cauſe of our preſent miſeries to the Parliament, or to exclaime againſt theſe times for being as yet miſerable: neither ought they ſo much to boaſt of that falſe betraying jollitie, which we ſeemed heretofore to enjoy. 'Tis now about ten yeares ſince a *Nuntio* came over from the Pope, the buſineſſe before was tranſacted by Sir *Toby Mathewes*, and ſome other more privie Inſtruments; for we muſt not think that a *Nuntio* was ſent, till his way was before made, and entertainment agreed upon, and that agreement alſo (we muſt needs think) had its preparations, and previous conſiderations: but to limit our diſcourſe to theſe laſt ten yeares, and to give a verie brieſe account of them, from the mouth of ſuch as are not partiall, let us in the firſt place make

uſe

uſe of that Cenſure and Narrative which hath beene lately publiſhed in Print, and is entituled, *The Popes Numio*, &c. The Authour of that Diſcourſe, was a *Venetian*, and ſeemes a man equally ingenuous and obſerving, and becauſe he was a Papiſt, we may not think he did utter any untruth to the diſadvantage of his own religion; and becauſe he was imploy'd in ſtate-matters at Court, we may gheſſe that what he comunicated was for the moſt part of things within his owne knowledge and privity; the piece alſo is faithfully tranſlated out of the Italian and French, and was valued and preferred as a thing not fit for vulgar eyes by great Statesmen of other Nations; and there are few of our owne Nation and Religion that had any ſight into Court affaires, but they know well, much more might have been ſaid, and is likely yet to be diſcovered. However by the light of that Pamphlet, we ſhall be informed, that the word Popery is of various ambiguous ſignification; ſo that he which abjures the Romiſh Religion, may yet like well of a reconciliation with *Rome*. And Reconciliation in the next place, is a thing that may admit of ſuch and ſuch degrees and ſteps both of one ſide and the other, and ſuch fraud may be uſed in a Treaty of reconciliation, that one ſide may condeſcend to more then is intended, and the other gaine more then is pretended; and in all theſe points, our *Venetian*, if he be rightly and throughly underſtood, will ſatisfie our doubts, and cleare our ambiguities; I ſhall deſire therefore all impartiall diſ-ingaged men, to review our *Venetians* diſcourſe with me, and to give me leave to deſcant thereupon a little, whileſt I fetch my conſiderations no higher nor further than the method and guidance of that Pamphlet directs me: our *Venetian* tells us, that King *Charles* once was heard to ſay, that Hee could at that time reconcile himſelfe to the Church of *Rome* with much advantage: for our better information therein, and that wee may neither miſtake the Kings intention, nor conceale our owne danger, let us make uſe of our *Venetians* diſcourſe in theſe five particulars: 1643 X

1 Let us from hence learne to understand what the reconciliation was; and how far each side should comply and submit according to the capitulation.

2 Who were the parties to be reconciled.

3 What were the expedients and meanes of effecting or speeding this reconciliation.

4 What that profit and great advantage was, which the King promised to himselfe by this reconciliation.

5 What the difficulties and obstacles were which did retard this reconciliation.

1 We shall do well, first to take into our consideration the articles and capitulation betwixt both parties, whereby it was agreed how far the Papists should meete the Protestants, and how far the Protestants should advance towards the Papists; the Pope was to move towards us but very slowly, in a pace exceeding majesticall; his Holinesse was pleased, not without much difficulty to dispence with foure things: First, that marriage might be permitted to Priests: Secondly, that the oath of allegeance and supremacie, so far as it concerned the Kings temporall power, with some mild interpretations or alterations might be tollerated for his Majesties security: Thirdly, that the Communion might be administred *sub utraque specie*: Fourthly, that the Lyturgie might be officiated in the English tongue. These two last articles were for the satisfaction of the people. 'Twas the great zeale of *Canterbury* to capitulate for these things, to make the entrance of Popery the more smooth at first; and this was about the latter end of *August*, or the begining of *September*, 1636. during the residence of Seignior *Con*; and though our *Venetian* help us not herein, yet this is knowne sufficiently, and can be averred otherwise; nevertheless, we may probably conjecture, that what did concerne the King herein, should have been really performed, so far forth as other Catholike Princes usually injoy, and expect as their due; and so far as the Bishops were to be independent both from King and Pope (which was the maine scope and purpose

of

of the agreement, though not mentioned at all in the articles) there was no feare of breach on the Popes part, but so far as the inferiour Clergie, and the people were concerned, the after performance (it is to be suspected) was to be left to the Popes discretion, the conditions being onely of temporall advantage, rather fit to induce than to confirme Popery. This seemes the more likely to be true, because of the great facility which was in our Divines to comply with the Papists of their owne accord without any allurements, or sollicitation at all; the Papists were not so backward in walking towards *Calvin*, as the Protestants were hasty in running towards the Pope; for even before any Treaty at all, or before any Nuntio sent from *Rome*, we had condescended to many popish innovations, and alterations, both in doctrine and discipline; and 'twas at our intreaty, that any Nuntio was dispatched at all. It is not worth while to reckon up here, what novelties had been patronized, and by whom, how far *Sparrow* had paved the way for auricular confession, *Watts* for penance, *Heylin* for altar-worship, *Mountague* for Saint-worship, *Laud* for the Masse, and many others; it is not worth while to recite, how far the sanctity of the Sabbath was depraved, and all strictnesse of life under the scandall of Puritanisme disparaged, or how far Arminianisme, Socinianisme, Atheisme it selfe was countenanced, the easier to debosh the Clergie, and people, and to prepare them for alterations of any kind, it having beene observed; *that to some men irreligion it selfe seemed lesse offensive than the Popish Religion: our Venetians owne words are; The Universities, Bishops and Divines of this Realme, doe daily imbrace Catholike opinions, though they professe it not with open mouth, for feare of the Puritanes: for example, they hold that the Church of Rome is a true Church; that the Pope is superiour to all Bishops; that to him it appertaines to call generall Councels; that it is lawfull to pray for the soules departed; that Altars ought to be erected; in summe, they believe all that is taught by the Church, but not by the Court of Rome.* In another place he reports *the King to be much a favourer of Confession,*

and

and ſayes, that by his countenance, Catholikes did increaſe daily.

At the Councell of *Trent* all matters concerning the Court of *Rome*, which are of themſelves but diſputable, were determined and enjoyned as points of faith to be believed upon ſtrict paine of damnation; but matters of faith indeed, concerning the Church of *Rome*, were left diſputable, and no *Anathema* annexed to them. Now, the Court of *England* having contrary intereſts in this reſpect, was not ſo far Popiſh, and therefore *Canterbury* himſelfe would ever profeſſe againſt theſe *Tridentine* Papiſts, whom onely he hated as Papiſts properly ſo called. Nevertheleſſe, we muſt not conceive, that the *Engliſh* Laytie had been in a condition any whit better or gentler, becauſe the King and the Clergie here were ſo ſtiffe againſt the Court of *Rome*; for what the King & our great Primate did deny to the Pope, it was intended to be reſerved in the ſame rigor to themſelves. The Papiſt properly ſo called in *Canterburies* ſenſe ſo much to be abominated, was he which maintained a ſupremacy of the Pope here in *England* altogether incompatible with the oath of Allegeance, and not agreeing with the Archbiſhops Metropoliticall power. Without any Treaty, without any difficulty at all, all Popery which was not Popery properly ſo called; that is, all Popery ſo far as the people and inferiour Clergie were intereſſed in it, ſo it did not ſavour of the Court of *Rome*; nay, let it ſavour of the Court of *Rome*, ſo it did not derogate any thing from the King *in temporalibus*, or the Archbiſhops independecy *in ſpiritualibus*; ſo far it was acceptable to the Prelates, and they would be aſſiſting to recommend, or inforce it on all others. This was the ſumme of our reconciliation with *Rome*.

2 Secondly, I come now to the two parties which were to be reconciled; and they were the Proteſtants and Papiſts, divided hitherto by the Puritanes: our *Venetian* reſolves not onely who are, but alſo what are Proteſtants and Puritanes both; and as for the Papiſts, the third great faction, they need no deſcription at all: if we deſire to know who are Proteſtants, our

Venetian

Venetian tels us, *They consist of the King, the Nobles Titular, that is, the Court Lords, and Gentlemen, or such of the Peerage and Gentry, as are enobled and raised to more than ordinary favours, and honors, besides almost all the Prelates, and both the Universities: If we desire to know what it is that denominates them Protestants, tis intimated in this that they hate Puritanes more than they hate Papists, that they easily combine with Papists to extirpate Puritanes, that they are such as have not so ingaged themselves to the Reformed Religion, but that they have since set themselves to reduce themselves againe to the old practise of their forefathers: that they are only very opinative in excluding the Popes supremacy, and by this meanes have occasioned the Catholicks, which frequented Protestant Churches for 12 yeares after the Reformation to sequester themselves.* If we desire to know who are Puritanes, *He tels us, they consist of some Bishops, all the Gentry and Communalty, and therefore are the most potent of all the three parties:* If we desire to know what Puritanes are, and what is intended in that denomination; he tels us, *They are such as received the discipline of the French and Netherlanders, & hold not the English Reformation to bee so perfect, as that which Calvin instituted at Geneva: That they hate Catholick more than they hate Protestants, that they would be easily quitted were it not for some great Patrons of theirs at Court, who for private ends take them into Protection.*

If this be a true account given (as it seemes to me beyond all doubt) the greatest part of the Gentry and Communalty of *England*, under the odious terme of Puritanes is to be oppressed, and destroyed meerely because they honour *Calvin*, and are averse from the Pope. The name of Protestant also is to be appropriated to the King, the Nobilitie, the Prelates, and Universities, meerely because they hate the Gentry and Commonalty, or the Generality therof more then they hate Papists: and lastly the Papist and the Protestant that they may be more fully incorporated, both of them shall be gratified, and their Union solemnized, as it were with the ruine of the third and most Potent party of the Kingdom.

This was that great and godly worke which was so mag-

nified by Doctor Heylin and and other Court Chaplaines of late; this was that rare bloudy machination which his Grace of *Canterbury* and the other Grandees of our Church recommended to us, as the pious inclination of the times, and as a more beautiful restoration of the Gospel, then that w^ch *Luther* and *Calvin* labour'd to advance. *Rome* had not such pregnant hopes of regaining *England* fifty yeares agoe: for then (as a great Romanist complained) opposition was made, not onely by a puritan-City, and a puritan-Parliament, but a puritan-Queene also. It should seem the City of *London* was puritanicall from the beginning, and so was the Parliament; in which two is comprized all that is noble and worthy in the kingdome of *England*: but who would imagine that so inconsiderable a party as the Papists and semi-Papists were in Queene *Elizabeths* dayes, should dare to asperse, not only the whole kingdome, but even the Queene her selfe? and who can wonder, if in these times, London and the Parliament have new brands of disgrace, worse then that of Puritane fixed upon them, (The King himselfe now appearing against them) if they could not goe unbranded when that unparallell'd Lady professed with them? yet we cannot ascribe this so much to the policy of the Clergy, as the blockishnesse of the Laity, that the Hierarchy prevailes so far: for if whole Cities, whole Parliaments, whole Nations, are to be conquered with the meere calumnious words of Puritane, Roundhead, Anabaptist. &c. Who is able to stand before them? can it be imagined that the same faction should forbeare to call us Roundheads which upbraided Q. *Elizabeth* as a Puritane, especially, when by their comming upon the King they have gotten that advantage now? Which then they had no hopes to get, nor can it be imagined that that party will fall from its preferment and hopes, rather then to satisfie so sottish a generation, it will take the paines to invent one reviling term of scurrility? surely the world for these many ages has had better experience both of the malice and subtilty of Rome.

3 Thirdly, the meanes used for the effecting of this reconciliation,

ation, and for the ſure tranſacting and cloſe carrying of it on, are now to be conſidered. The King ſhould ſeeme thought that without all ſcandall he might receive an Embaſſadour from the Pope, as well as from other Catholick Princes, and upon the propoſition of the ſame by *Panzani* himſelfe to the Queene, and to ſome others of power about the King by *Panzani's* friend; the thing ſeemed very reaſonable, ſo that the Nuntio to be ſent over were no Prieſt: howſoever for more privacies ſake, it was ordered, that the Nuntio ſhould addreſſe himſelf to the Queen, and not to the King immediately; and that the pretended buſineſſe of his addreſſe ſhould be to mediate a reconciliation betwixt the Regulars and Seculars in England. This would better blinde the jealous Puritanes, and make the true intent of the negotiation the more involved; and the caſe of Dr. *Smith* the Biſhop of *Chalcedon* expelled by the perſecution of the Ieſuites, for claiming juriſdiction as Vniverſal ordinary in *England*, ſerved well at this time for a ſpecious colour. Reaſon of ſtate none could be alledged for any Intercourſe betweene England and Rome, therfore the Church affairs muſt be the ſubject of our Embaſſie, the Ieſuites and the Seculars were imbroyled in ſome conteſtation, & twas for the benefit of Rome to appeaſe the heat of it. Without all doubt the Romiſh Councell *De propaganda fide* would not entertaine agents from us to ſettle union betweene Calviniſts and Lutherans, or betweene Remonſtrants and Contra-Remonſtrants: but we that have no ſuch councell nor no ſuch deſigne, inſtead of nouriſhing enmity amongſt our adverſaries, allay it, and in ſtead of allaying enmity amongſt friends, nouriſh it. Nothing can more cleerely ſhew, that the Court of England ſtands not diſaffected to the proſperity of Rome, then this endevour of making atonement betwixt the oppoſite Champions of that religion, and yet this was but the ſhell of the deſigne, the kernell had more miſchiefe in it: for we may underſtand by our *Venetian*, that *Panzani* out of his great circumſpection and fineneſſe, having matured the buſineſſe of generall reconciliation, ſo well

for the further covering of his true deſigne, he did apply himſelfe after, to his pretended negotiation. And therefore upon the 22 of *November* 1635, almoſt a yeare after his arrivall here procured ſome accord betwixt the Seculars and Regulars, though the Ieſuites would not come in. The truth is, the Ieſuites were then the principall body of the Regulars, governing them (as they do ſtill alſo) the beſt families of *England*, nay the very Court it ſelfe, and ſo they not ſubmitting to the accord, 'twas but nugatory, and a meere umbrage to all the world, except the phlegmaticall dull Engliſh. Nay it is ſufficiently proved by our *Venetian, that all pacification betwixt the Ieſuites & Regulars is impoßible, wherupon if Con comply with the Ieſuites, it is the ſame thing as if he did abandon the Seculars, and it is to be doubted that the buſineſſe of Religion will be rather hindered than promoted thereby*. And what greater inſtance need we of the Ieſuites predominance in *Eng*. than this, that notwithſtanding the diſtaſt of *Canterb*. and his deare, confident *Cbicheſter*, they can excite the Popes ordinary here, nay, & without all regard to the Colledge of *Sorbona*, & to the Popes own intereſt, they dare inveigh not only againſt the perſon of ſome, but againſt the function of all Biſhops? Wherefore the accommodation betwixt Seculars and Regulars, being ſo uſeles to Proteſtants, & ſo hopeles to Papiſts, we muſt not doubt but ſome deſigne of more conſequence was obſcured under that pretext, for when we heare that the Pope and Cardinall *Barbarini* diſpatched ſo many perſons, of ſuch quality hither, & that the King ſtood bare at their audience, and manifeſted ſo much grace in their reception, and that the Qu. and all the great Lords and Ladies, with extraordinary preſents, and frequent viſits, both given and taken, ſtudied to do ſuch honor to them, the matter in hand cannot ſeem ordinary. Tis true, the Arch-biſhop would not perſonally treat with *Panzani*; *Windebank* his creature was to intervene therin, neither could *Panzani* treat with the Archbiſhop, but by *Franſciſ. a Sanct. Clara* his friend on the other ſide, but this was meerely for ſecrecies ſake; for we know well what factions ſoever were in our Court, *Panzani was not*

unacceptable to any, by the meanes of Windebank he obtained grace with Canterburies party, and by the meanes of Cottington he held correspondency with that party which was adverse. Panzani though not addicted to the Regulars, yet wanted no acceptance amongst the *Cottingtonians*, and *Con* though in grace with the Iesuites, yet lost no esteem with the *Canterburians*. All sides conspire to undo Puritanes, as if our Saviour were again to be crucified; *Herod* in this busines can lay aside all emulations & variance with *Pilate*, and *Pilate* can as peaceably shake hands with *Herod*. It may be justly surmised also, that when there was so amicable & generall a concurrence betwixt *Canterbury*, *Chichester* and the other 8. Bishops, (amongst whom we may boldly nominate *Gloucester*) as also *Portland*, *Cotting*. *Windebank* and so many other Lay Grandees cooperating in this zealous work of Reconciliation, the order of the Iesuites was not in truth so odious to the *Canterburians* as was pretented openly at other times.

4 We are now to consider the advantage, which was the maine motive or allurement to invite the King to this Reconciliation. That cup of fornication which the *Circe* of *Rome*, (as the Scripture describes it) mingles and prepares for the Ks. of the earth, must needs be very delicious to the sense, aswell as it is pernitious to the understanding; it must needs please, as well as intoxicate, or else why should the great Potentates of the world be more apt to yeeld to the infatuation of it than common persons? That it does inebriate or debosh the understanding, must be consented to by all that consent to the truth of Scripture, and that there is a purpose of mischiefe in that strumpet, whose intoxications are so strong to captivate, and delude, cannot be doubted; the maine knot & difficulty is, what the ingredients are, which render the Composition so ravishing and sweet to the palate of Princes. Our *Venetian* conceives, *That the allurement or advantage is something temporal, and not religious, for in his censure great Princes & Politicians in their soules make no account of Religion, though in shew they always indeavour to appeare extreamely zealous, and severely inflict exemplary*

punishments upon all such as temerate the purity of it, some men, he admits, may embrace Religion in sincerity, as it leades to true happinesse, but tis hard for him to imagine that mighty Monarchs, & their neerest privados should honor it at all, but for its secular commodities as it inclines the people to subjection, and preserves States from commotion. Neither must we censure this censure, as utterly causles and injurious, for Paganism, Mahometanism, Iudaism, Papism, Socinianisme, divide all the world amongst them, except one final inconsiderable remainder, & divide that remainder into 10 parts, and scarce one of those 10 is indued with that true power and tincture of Religion, which Scripture names regeneration; and if we yet make another subdivision, the mighty, the politick, the honorable of this world will scarce make up the 10 of that tenth part. The maine bulk of mankind, either makes no profession at all to regard Religiō, or else professeth a regard meerely for the tēporall conveniences which attend religion, or else falsly & hypocritically, rest in the meere shadow or external formalities of it. Our K. has been always bred up in the Prot. relig. and with deep vows has expreſt often his sincere adherence to it, though our *Venetian* therefore being a Papist censured according to the principles of a Papist, for my part I shall nevertheles have none but charitable thoughts of our Kings hearty esteeme of Religion in general, and of the Protestant religion in particular. Tis not credible to me, that all religions should be indifferent, or of the like efficacy in the esteem of our King, or that the Romish religion should seem spiritually more efficacious to him, than Protestantisme, some advantages (I conceive) of a secular, politicall nature might have the force to dispose his heart to a reconciliation with *Rome*, but I am most confident, that no spiritual advantage was aimed at therein. For if the advantage had been celestiall, and such as did appertaine immediatly to the soule, then all times had bin alike opportune for reconciliation with the Church of *Rome*, nay the first opportunity was most to be embraced; but in this speech of the Kings cited by our *Venetian*, a fitnes of season seems to be implied for the inviting to a present reconciliatiō.

There

There is no doubt then remaining, nor nothing first for our inquiry but what temporall advantage it was, which the K. expected and promist to himself, & what kind of reconciliation it was wch he thought fit to conclude with *Rome*. As for the reconciliation that has been already spoken to, and as it is uncertaine what the K. intended in his own breast, & how far he resolved to comply with the Pope; so it is most certain, that the Bish. & those Counsellors of his, which were most intimate with him, and most active in the negotiation with *Panzani*, &c. intended a totall alteration of religion, & that he was grossely abused & deceived by them, if he himself intended otherwise. This has bin made sufficiently manifest; I am now to make it as manifest, if I can, that even in those temporal advantages also, whereby the King was solicited, and incited to descend to any agreement at all with the Pope in any degree whatsoever, he was as grossely abused & deceived also. The sacerdotall Empire of *Rome*, though it be founded upon nothing else but meere delusions & incantations (as the holy S. of God himselfe perpetually inculcates to us) yet to flesh & bloud those delusions & incantatiõs are so powerful, that we may truely say it is a Throne very cunningly erected, and as firmely under-propped. The Romish Potion at first had only spiritual ingredients in it, the Bishops were compelled to act sanctity even almost to the life, before Princes would subject themselves, & at that time nothing but heaven was the allurement to dispose Monarchs to such subjectiõ. Nevertheles though we may wonder that innocent, wel affected Ks. & Emperors should be so blinded with abũdance of zeale, as to think that they could not sufficiently glorify God with their royalty, unles they disrobed thẽselves of some part of it, to communicate the same to Priests, who must needs grow the more tẽporal, & not the more spiritual therby; yet that error was more excusable then ours is in these latter times. Prin. now adays (except some very few that are exceeding weak in their intellectuals) do not suffer thẽselves to be dementated & made drunk with any conceits of the Popes holines, if the Pope did not further sweeten his cup with promises of grandour & safety, and other temporal additions, would scarce relish in these depraved, yet quick-sighted times. Can

Can any man imagine that *Hen.* 4. in *France* did totally, or King *Iames* in *Eng.* partially comply with *Rome* for conſcience ſake? no, tis impoſſible that ſuch fine ſpirits & firme intellects, ſhould be ſo far transformed by any Circean compound drink whatſoever; doubtleſſe that which drew them in, to carouſe was ſomething proper, and peculiarly qualified for their relliſhes, and in probability it was reſpect of ſafety and ſecurity, rather than addition of power and ſupremacy. That power which Princs firſt parted with to the Pope, for religious reaſons, inabled him to frame a great party of Clergy-men, and Regular Orders, and to himſelf al that were eminent for learning, policy, & reputed piety; & being thus inabled, ſuch Princes as were not to be beguild by his pretences, he after oppreſſed by treachery. Wherefore now ſome Princes ſtoop to him for feare of damage, *ut non noceat*; others for hope of benefit *ut proſit*, and though his Empire be now in a great declination, and the world begins both to fortifie themſelves againſt his powder, poyſon & poynards on the one ſide; and to diſcover the falſity of his promiſes on the other ſide; yet ſtill his induſtry never failes him. Howſoever thoſe Princes which ſubmit to the Pope for feare, are more worthy of blame, than thoſe which ſubmit for gaine; for ſcarce ever did God leave any juſt Prince to the cruelty of the Popes Emiſſaries, nor ſcarce ever was it known, that they came to timely ends, which ſuccumbed to the Pope out of feare, as *Hen.* the 4 did, and as King *Iames* may be ſuſpected to have done. But tis advantage that is the Popes maine bayte, eſpecially where Princes value Religion *for the generall profit which redounds from it, to humane ſociety, than for any other excellence diſcerned in it*; as our *Venetian* obſerves. And yet the miſery and miſchief reſts not here, for as our great Potētates are not religious enough to addict themſelves to divine worſhip, without reſpect of ſecular ends, ſo neither are they wiſe enough to pierce into the reality & truth of thoſe ends. To ſerve the Pope does not ſo really advāce the Prerogative of Princes, as to remain under Gods allegiance, yet the Pope gaines that obedience by empty promiſes, which God cannot receive by full aſſurances.

Amongſt

Amongst other Princes, it seems (at least probable out of this discourse of our *Venetian*) King *Charles* hath inclined his ear in some part, to the delusory bewitching allurements of *Rome* in this point of temporall advantage, for though Popery under the grosse notion of Popery, (I believe) was never approved of by our King, yet under the maske of qualifying, and dulcifying distinctions, it is to be feared it found some acceptance, as being a profession more disposing Subjects to security, and blind obedience, then Protestantisme.

This is the Popes sole fortresse, upon this impregnable rock his throne planted, it is not so much his pretended predecessour *Peters* confession, as this delusion that he builds upon, so that now the gates of Hell are not formidable to him. So long as Princes covet to be absolute, and so long as Popery is believed to favour absolute dominion, so long the See of *Rome* thinks it self secure, against all mines and batteries whatsoever. Nevertheless. it is the dull follie of Princes to expect temporall advantages from *Rome*, or to suppose the Reformed Religion is more adverse to Monarchy, then the Popish. Our *Venetian* tells us *that the intentions both of the Court of Rome, and the Court of England, are contrary, and that in Secular things especially, for (saith he) it is not so much for the extirpation of other heresies, as for the establishing his own Supremacy, that the Pope strives in pursuance of his old pretences, and whereas on the contrary, the Court of England aimes not at any alteration in faith, so much as the toleration of the oath of Supremacie, this the Pope knowes to be contrary to his Maximes, and inconsistent with his temporall grandour, and therefore no accord* can be possible betwixt them upon these terms. wherefore our great negotiators which were to treat with *Panzani*, *Con*, and *Rossetti*, what did they else, but abuse the King, proposing to him such temporall advantages, as they well knew were uncompassable: and contracting with another partie who might gain much, but was certaine to lose nothing. But some will say, are not the Princes of *Spaine*, *France*, *Germany*, &c. more unlimited in their

power over their ſubjects then the Princes of *England, Denmarke, Holland, &c.* And is not this a good demonſtration that the Catholick religion favours royalty more then the Proteſtants? I anſwer no; for this proves that ſubjects are more miſerable, but not that Princes are more abſolute amongſt the Papiſts, for as much as where the Pope prevailes, there is a Co-dominion and rivalty in rule, and this Proteſtant Princes are freed from.

Neither is this Co-dominion ſo light a thing as ſome men think, for the Popes yoke is a hard yoke, and the Popes burthen is a heavy burthen, he is Antichriſt in this, as in all other things, that is, contrary to Chriſt.

A late Venetian Embaſſador being in diſcourſe here at his owne table, about entertaining of the Popes Nuntios, expoſtulated openly in this manner; *What wonder is this that the King being freed from Rome, ſhould be ſo inclineable to ſubject his neck to the yoake againe? Could we at Venice once fully acquit our ſelves of this bondage, we ſhould be ſufficiently carefull and reſolved to keep our ſelves for ever free.* And this ſpeech was the more remarkable, in regard that the *Venetians* better know what the Popes claimes are *in ſpiritualibus*, & *in ordine ad ſpiritualia*, then our Engliſh doe; and yet though of all Catholicks they are the wiſeſt, and have beſt rampired themſelves againſt the exceſſe of the Popes juriſdiction; yet we ſee there is ſtill ſome thing remaining in the ſpirituall yoke, that grievs their necks and drawes ſome regret from them, the ſecret of all is but this, (for to the Great Lords of the earth, it remaines ſtill a ſecret and unfathomable, though to true Proteſtents it be a plaine ordinary naked truth) Popery as it doth more countenance and uphold cruell tyranny in Princes, ſo it doth alſo more foment diſſention, and rebellion in ſubjects then the reformed Religion.

And there is no contradiction at all in this (none but halfe witted men will think ſo) for whilſt Princes will allow the Pope more then is his due, he will aſſiſt in any oppreſſion whatſoever,

ever, but let any thing be denied to him, and then he presently looseneth the bonds of allegiance, making Subjects as unjust scourges to their Lords, as he had made the Lords before to their Subjects, what countreyes doe not abound with stories of this kind? it would be meere losse of time to set forth what seas of bloud have been shed in *Europe*, by unnaturall civil broils, raised betwixt Subjects and their Lords in the Popes quarrells meerely, I shall desire all true English men to read Mr. *Prinne's* late treatises, concerning this subject, and to compare them with histories of other countries. The Popes promises to Kings, are like the tempters to our Saviour, all these royalties and glories will I bestow upon you, but with this proviso, that you then prostrate your selves to serve me, but what is that service which he requires? that they may endure a baser vassallage under him then their Subjects do under them.

On the contrary the Protestant Religion seasons us, with such unstained loyalty, that Princes do presume thereupon, & fear the lesse to grieve, & provoke us, a, by *Contzens* the Jesuits advertisements, & the practice of divers Princes in *Europe* of late is testified too clearly. well may we wonder then at the frontlesse impudence of such Papists as upbraide Protestants with disobedience to Magistracy, especially when they charge it as a sin resulting, & issuing out of the Protestant principles, themselves. What doth *Barclay* imagine of his readers stupidity, when in his book *contra Monarchomachos*, he inveighes against his countreyman *Buchanan*, as injurious to Royalty, and imputes this, as an effect, or product of the Protestant Religion?

His Relgion was ever infamous for excommunicating, murthering, deposing Princes, and imbruing nations in unnatuall, treasonable, execrable warres, whereas the Protestant Religion equally abhorres both cruelty in Princes, and disloyalty in Subiects, aiming at nothing but that Kingly Prerogative and popular liberty, may be even ballanced; and yet this foule railer, here inverts nature, calling white black, and black white.

The King of *England* hath some Subiects wherein none hath an interest, but himself, and he hath other Subiects wherein the *Pope* hath an interest as well as himself, the first are English, the second are Irish, in whether Nations loyalty he may rather confide I cannot tell, (for at this present he bends himself with more violence against the English, then Irish) but the end will reveal to the confusion of his malignant seducers, that there was nothing but fidelity in English Protestants, nor nothing but perfidie in Irish Papists, I shall use no other instances: If there be any curse impendent over ths Nation, both King and People, it is this, that this truth is not yet sufficiently credited and acknowledged.

But to our present negotiation again, it seemed to our *Venetian, that the King aimed at such a dispensation from the Pope, as that his Catholick Subiects might resort to our Protestant Churches, and take the oath of Supremacy, and fidelity, and that the Popes iurisdiction here should be declared, to be but of humane right*, &c. but what needed the King to seek these things from the *Pope*? or what hope was there to obtaine them at all? and if they were to be obtained, but not without the losse of other things, ten times more precious, and profitable to the King, what advantage was in them?

We cannot apprehend that the King should expect any good from *Rome* of himself, some strong inchanting solicitation there must be, to induce him, and that by such, as aimed not at his, but their own interests. and this our *Venetian* layes open and makes clear enough, for he tells us *that the Court of* Rome *treated according to its own maxime, and in pursuance of its old pretences*. The Popes end was temporall grandour, and what could all the Popes vassalls, here more expect then his advancement? but the Pope and his party, were but Treaters of one side, the question is, who were Treaters on the other side, and what it was, which they were to treate for. This question is without question, for the Merchants of our side, were our Prelates, *some whereof being single, were to be made Cardinalls*,

walls, and others were receiving pensions from Rome, as our *Venetian* tells us. The Protestant Religion doth not so much affect the outward opulence, pomp, and splendour, of the Church, (that is of Clergy men) as the Popish doth, and therefore the main body of the Clergy, and the Universities have been long conspiring to alter Religion, at least in that point, and rather then faile in that, they care not how they deboſh the Church inducing an hotchpodge (as Mr. *Cheynell* has well observed of Arminianisme, Popery, Socinianisme, any thing rather then a plaine Gospell. If *Canterbury* may not be allowed to be *Alterius Orbis Papa*, as some of his predecessors were called, and as able to give check to the Crowne of *England*, and if Scholars generally may not insult and lord it in Church and state, as the use was amongst our ignorant forefathers, they will make a league with *Rome*, nay with hell it self, rather then endure it. *The Religion of Scotland is a nasty invention, the discipline of Geneva is a profaine confusion, the City of London is a nest of Anabaptists, the Parliament a croud of Roundheads: All Protestants that are not forbtantified Altars, gilt Organs, clinquant copes, are worse Christians then the Romish Catholicks*: howsoever the true Protestant desires not to see the Clergy despicable, or the house of God to be without bread, or order confounded in the Church, these are scandals invented to make all men odious that are not addicted to the Popish gaiety & tyranny of Priests. That Reformation which the Parliament aimes at will avoide all injustice and extreames, and if the Clergy stand not in their own light, Religion will flourish and the Church prosper better then they have done hitherto: for the Vine which is the most naturall resemblance of the Church that can be, proves equally unfertile by luxuriance, when her branches for want of pruning spread abroad too wildly, as it does by indurance when shee bleeds two prodigally under the dressers knife, And this cannot be unknowne to the Parliament.

5 We come now to vew the true obstickles and impechments of this Reconciliation, one hindrance was Sr. Toby

Mathews

Mathewes his ambition, who thinking his imployment lessned, and his person cheapened by the comming over of seig. *Panzani*, and not finding such compliance from *Panzani*, as he expected, openly expressed himselfe an adversary to his undertakings. the great stomack also of the Jesuites, who before had the sway at Court; did not well brook a lay Legate here in England, and if the reconciliation thrived, they did perhaps feare that the English Nation might rather incline to favour the seculars then themselves. Then the Pope doubtlesse (with reverence be it spoken to his infallibility) was a little too majesticall at first in his moving towards us, he saw us so precipitate in our pace towards him that he thought he himself might safely stand upon rigorous punctilio's. The King required from the *P*ope onely such naturall allegiance of his subjects as other Catholicke *P*rinces use to have paid them, without futher distinguishing, and yet his holinesse did conceive it was too much to tolarate this oath for the assurance of that: His holinesse thought it rather fit that the very words formerly conceived and enacted by the states of the whole kingdome, should be presently expunged or altered: and though the King was contented to qualifie and correct the letter of the law, by a milder declaration, and interpretation, yet even that was not held satisfaction enough.

In the next place also our *P*relates were contented to allow the *P*ope a priority above all Bishops, but a superiority seemed more then due, especially in *England* the Arch *Bishop* was resolved to be the supream Ordinary himself, and yet his holines did not thinke it agreeable to his Vice-Godship to admit of that honour as due to the Arch-Bishop. The dispute was not whether the Arch-Bishop should execute that office in his own name and right, or by allowance and deputation from the *P*ope, nor was there any clause of *salvo jure* to either of them, as yet thought on. these were tender points not to be insisted on too roughly, at such a time as this, when both sides were so far resolved of a reconciliation before hand. There must be a more

mild

mind and eaſie way of compoſing things then ſo: for as the *Pope* had rather we ſhould remaine *Proteſtants*, and ſo deſperate of ſalvation, then that his ſupremacy ſhould be too farre impeached; ſo *Canterbury* had rather we ſhould not turne *Papiſts* then that his *Primacie* ſhould be too farre diſabled. The bargain therefore at firſt unqualified was thus. The *Pope* demanded to have a Legate in *England* that ſhould be a Biſhop, and not favour the oath of Allegiance, on the other ſide the King here would have the oath of allegiance favoured, and the Biſhops thought it needleſſe, for the *Pope* to have any other agents, or deputies here, beſides themſelves. This difference could hardly be compoſed all the time of Seig. *Panzani*, but at laſt the Biſhops durſt not wholly neglect the *Kings* intereſt, and ſo the oath of allegiance was included in the bargain, and the King would not oppoſe the Biſhops intereſt, and ſo a lay Legate was agreed upon, and it was for the *Popes* honour that a Legate ſhould be, for the ſaving of his authority, and therefore becauſe the *Pope* could not withſtand both King, and Biſhops, ſuch a Legate was agreed upon as ſhould favour the oath, yet be no Biſhop. It was preſſed home to the *Pope*, that the Archbiſhop and his party, were paſſionate ſeekers of this Reconciliation, and in order, and preparation thereunto, had already brought in many Rites, Ceremonies, and Doctrines, nearly approching the Church of *Rome*, and that if the work were not ſpeeded during his life time, greater difficulties and re-incounters were likely to interpoſe after his death, and yet for a good ſpace the *Pope* thought the conditions too unequall. So little weight and proportion did the ſoules of millions hold, in compariſon of one temporall flower, of the popes garland, and therefore *Panzanies* skill, and induſtry, for a whole yeare could ſcarce maſter theſe animoſities, and facilitate the buſineſſe for his next ſucceſſours: nevertheleſſe, the *Pope* at laſt, grew more a Courtier, and ſtooped a little to a ſmoothy cõpliance by his more crafty miniſters, *Con*, & *Roſetti* and now the plot of the agreement is perfected, and there wants nothing, but the putting of it into execution. Without a

effected but by their utter subversion, the wished reconciliation could not yet be consummated; and the *Puritanes* being the greater part of the Kingdome by farre, this taske must needs be very cumbersome, *Confession* (as our *Venetian* heard say) *was a thing held fit to be urged upon us by violence, but fear of commotion hindered it*, and we may very probably conjecture that some other grosser points of *Popery* had been obtruded upon us also by the higher powers, but that the curfed indisposition of the *Puritanes* was such, that there was great hazzard in the attempt Howsoever our stout *Prelates* were not out of all hope of carrying their designe, either by fraud or force, or a mixture of both, and therefore seeing things so equally poized in *England Scotland* and *Ireland*, they were resolved that no meere hazzard should wholly deter them from adventuring the utmost. *Scotland* appeared wholly almost puritanicall, but to counterpoise that, *Ireland* appeared as generally *Popish*, and for *England*, though the major part there was puritanicall, yet the more potent in place and authority, and the more exquisite in subtilties, or rather treachery was *Popish* or *Protestant*, that is inclined to combine with *Papists*, and therfore in all this there was little odds, to disanimate them, neither was their any feare of forraign forces: for under the deceitfull pretence of our head-ship and association, the *Protestants* in *Germany* and *France* were allready much weakned and betrayed, and made jealous of adhering to us, they being brought to such a condition that they could not helpe themselves at home, much lesse annoy enemies abroad. Also the King of *Denmarke* and Prince of *Aurange*, though *Protestants*, yet were *Politicians*, and therfore the interest of Royalty, would questionles prevaile more with them, then the interest of Religion. It would please them better to see the *Prerogative* gained in *England*, to the damage of Religion, then religion to prosper, by the diminution of *Prerogative*. It onely remains then that in *England* they plotted Reconciliation be first put in execution, and advanced by as slow insensible degrees, as may be, and great art must be used, when *Churches, Altars, &c.* begin to be decored

be made to believe, not that popery is to be induced, but that a faire reconciliation between both Churches is to be procured; and not that *Proteſtantiſme* is to be at all in any conſiderable matter charged, but that *Puritaniſme* be exterminated. Alſo when not onely faire allurements, but the two great *Carnificines* of the Land, The *Star-Chamber* and *High-Commiſſion* have by rigor prevailed as far as may be; and when by all other meanes the *Engliſh* are inured, and familiarized to ſome popiſh rites under the faire pretence of conforming to Reverend Antiquity. Then the *Scots* (who are not ſo apt to be inamoured with the ſplendor and pomp of Church-men as we are) muſt be by all meanes aſſailed, and urged to union and conformity with the Church of *England*.

And becauſe it is expected that the *Scots* ſhould be more jealous of the leaſt incroachments of Poperie, and more adventurous to ſecure themſelves in ſuch jealouſie, and more unanimous in their adventure; therefore their countrey is to be made the firſt Scene of the war. And ſince it would be too groſſe to impeach the whole Nation of *Puritaniſme*, therefore their crime muſt be rebellion; and the better to imbarque the *Engliſh* in the quarrell, that in the *Scots* they might deſtroy themſelves, ſome new diſguiſe muſt be put upon the war; it muſt be divulged, that in ſtead of ſettling Biſhops in their Sees, and bringing in the *Engliſh* Lyturgie, the King has need to be eſtabliſhed in his Throne, and *Scotland* to be preſerved from *Anarchie*. All the diſpute is; Whether Subjects may make reſiſtance by force of Arms againſt a juſt, pious, clement Prince, the name of *Bellum Epiſcopale* is diſ-owned: the Title of the Lords annoynted will better ſupport the envie of theſe broyles; and it is ſuggeſted to the *Engliſh*, that both the Lawes and Natives of *Scotland* are more *Antimonarchicall* then thoſe of *England*.

All theſe traines, notwithſtanding the *Puritane* faction in *England* (that is, all cordiall *Proteſtants*) abominated the grounds of that war, and in concluſion, the popiſh faction, and the Biſhops

ſhops, Nobility, Univerſities and Clergie, which onely challenge the name of *Proteſtants*, were not able to put the King into ſuch a condition of ſtrength, but that he was driven to give the *Scots* their demanded ſatisfaction. Hereupon likewiſe a reſolution is taken to ſummon a Parliament in *England*, as is pretended for the disbanding of the two Armies, and compoſing theſe Nationall breaches; but ſome thinke, for the turning one or both theſe Armies another way, and raiſing farther diviſions in the bowels of *England*; but God ſo over-ruled the matter, that the *Scots* did peaceably retire, and our ſouldiers disband without attempting any thing againſt the Parliament.

And now to recover life againe in this ſo foil'd an enterpriſe, nothing will ſerve, but that the *Iriſh*, (who were placed as in Ambuſcado for the purpoſe) muſt riſe all in Armes, and moſt perfidiouſly execute a ſecret bloody maſſacre upon all the *Britiſh* Proteſtants in that Kingdome. Doubtleſſe (if ever *Rome* ſhewed her excellent skill) 'twas in that ſilent deepe conſpiracie, if ever ſhe ſhewed her fiery zeale, 'twas in that horrid infernall Tragedie: If ever ſhe diſcovered her ſelfe to the Chriſtian world in her lively colours of whore, witch, murtheresſe, 'twas in this unparallel'd villany. By this meanes the Popiſh affaires are in better ſtate than ever; for *Scotland* ſtands gazing on, as if ſhe were loſt, in admiration, and *Ireland* is become not onely intire for the buſineſſe for its owne ſtrength, but is back'd alſo with ſome ſupply out of *Flaunders*, and other Countreyes; and even the Kings party in *England* (though they hold not open intelligence with them) yet act all the parts of perfect friends and allyes to them.

The *Iriſh* Rebells are ſecured by the diverſion of our Cavaliers here, and our Cavaliers here are ſecured by the diverſion made there by the Rebels; both ſides profeſſe and avow the ſame cauſe, and draw their ſwords againſt the ſame Parliament Round-heads; and were it not that our ſhipping did prevent their meetings, doubtleſſe our Cavaliers would procure ſome forces from *Ireland*, and the *Iriſh* would be ſupplyed with other neceſſaries,

neceſſaries out of *England*; and yet 'tis advantage to the popiſh abettors here, to diſclaime the advantage of Communion with their popiſh abettors there.

That very Army alſo (which to the great exhauſting of the good party in *England* levied to oppugne the Rebels) is ſollicited to joyne againſt thoſe, by whom it is levied; and ſupplies ſent for *Ireland* by the Parliament of *England* are intercepted by the Kings forces, and thus the Parliament (more unfortunate than the *Pelican*) makes wounds in her owne breaſt, to draw out blood, not for her friends, but for her enemies advantage. In this ſtrange confluence of unexpected miſchiefs, whilſt the Parliament finds her ſelfe ſo relinquiſh'd by her friends, ſo ſurrounded with enemies of contrary factions and pretences, and ſo undermined with daily new treaſons, Shee makes her moſt humble addreſſe to the King to ſettle the *Poſſe* or *Militia* of this Kingdome, in faithfull well reputed hands; the King at firſt, in great darkneſſe, neither grants, nor ſeemes to deny the requeſt, he profeſſeth no diſlike to the perſons nominated, but alledgeth, that by this meanes, the Commiſſioners ſhould neither be authoriſed ſolely by his Commiſſion, nor ſhould be diſcharged at his meere pleaſure. The *Scots* had obtained this due righteous ſatisfaction before, and doubtleſſe had taken it as an utter defiance, or invaſion, had they not obtained it; but *England* is denyed ſo much right (even after its example, and the good conſequence thereof in *Scotland*) yet remaines too inſenſible of their owne danger in this fatall ſad denyall. Nevertheleſſe, the contrary faction takes this as the certaine trump of war; and leaving us to our deepe melancholly, beſtirs it ſelfe to win the City of *London*, and all military perſons to the King; and though the City will not prove unfirme to the Parliament, yet the Cavaliers all flocke to the Court (and there careſſed by the Queene) vow themſelves to any deſigne whatſoever.

Something alſo is plotted both againſt the Citie and Parliament, but proving uneffectuall, becauſe both are ſo ſafe againſt

the Popiſh partie and the Cavaliers: therefore it is pretended, that they are unſafe to the King and his Children, and it is ſpred abroad, that the King is in danger of being ſurprized by thoſe, who ſhould have been ſurprized by his, if God had not otherwiſe provided.

The King is counſelled in the next place therefore to retire to ſome remote Port Towne of ſtrength, commodious for receit of Forces both forraine and domeſticall; and his eye is upon Hull, where a great Magazine of Armes is, but in that he is fore-ſtalled by the Parliament. This gives the King occaſion to levie men at York, for the ſafegard of his perſon, whilſt all intentions of an Army were ſolemnly abjured by himſelfe; and the ſame ſeconded by the Lords ſubſcriptions: and this was a good help to encreaſe his Gard into the proportion of an Army, and to give good hope that hee might not only remaine ſafe in York, but alſo march forth to ſtorme Hull. But ſoft, I am not to paſſe the ſtorie of that march, that was the Rubicon of this war, and it is beyond my purpoſe to trace the buſineſſe any further; what hath ſince followed on both ſides, was enforced by theſe beginnings.

I muſt now leave off my diſcoverie, *Venit Heſperus*; the day it ſelfe would faile mee, if I ſhould proſecute theſe things too far. He which takes all theſe premiſes into juſt conſideration, can want nothing elſe to convince and ſatisfie, who were the chiefe Incendiaries of this war, and who were the perſons that did commence and continue all our broyles. That the people of theſe our Kingdomes have of late yeares, ſince Queene *Elizabeths* death, ſo prodigiouſly degenerated, as of honourable to become generally diſhonourable, of loyall to become univerſally diſloyall, of naturall to become totally unnaturall, is monſtrous to beleeve. But that King *Iames* and King *Charles* have varied from the government of Queene *Elizabeth*, and to hold a good underſtanding with Rome, have not been ſo fixedly devoted to the true intereſts of the reformed Religion, and their ſubjects proſperitie, as that bleſſed Lady was, is a truth that

Heaven

Heaven and earth will give teſtimony to. That ambitious Prelates have been our prime Fire-brands is manifeſt alſo; for without their ſtrong inchantments, our Kings would not have been ſo far alienated from us, and without that alienation, the Papiſts could not have ſo far trampled upon us. To compaſſe to themſelves an Empire above Princes, 'tas beene ever the charme of *Prieſts* to make promiſes and aſſurances, that they will elevate Princes as far above their Subjects, by an addition of royaltie, and enlargement of prerogative. In this, all *Prieſts* conſpire, that prefer earth before Heaven, be they *Proteſtant* or *Popiſh*, be they Engliſh or Romiſh, the difference is only this: the Engliſh *Prelate* affects *Poperie* for Tyrannies ſake, whereas the Romiſh prelate affects Tyranny for poperies ſake; but both affect both for their owne preferments ſake: for without Tyranny poperie cannot be enforced, and without poperie Tyranny cannot be ſupported; and as both cannot be eſtabliſht, but by a conſpiracie of both parties, ſo neither is that conſpiracie ſufficient, unleſſe the King alſo be won by it. Therefore in the Scots war it was ſuggeſted to the King, that the Crowne could not ſtand without the Myter, and therupon amongſt the *Plebeians* it was diſperſed and maintained, that the Biſhops fought to maintaine the Kings Crowne, not that the King fought to uphold the Biſhops Myter. And what difference is there now in our caſe? Is not this war in England a meere reviving of that war which was in Scotland? Did not our prelats as openly imbark the King in their quarrell then, as they do now? And do not our prelats ſtruggle and ſtir as unanimouſly now, and ſtand for the ſame ends, and adhere to the ſame confederates, the papiſts, as they did then? One drop of water is not more like another, than the Scottiſh war is like this. And if it be objected, that the prelates now incenſe not the King againſt the Scots, and therefore there is ſomething new in the difference, more than was in that: and further, that they diſclaime and abhor the Iriſh rebellion, and therfore they combine not with papiſts. This anſwer is readily given. The

Scots, 'tis true, are fairely entertained in words, but in deeds, all the hoſtilitie offered to us is aimed at them, and will reach them in the next place, their ruine is moſt inevitably involved in ours, and the *Stoccado* that pierces it, will eaſily find a paſſage thorow our bodyes into theirs. I am ſure they are too wiſe a Nation to apprehend otherwiſe: ſo alſo for the *Iriſh* rebels 'tis as true, they are ignominiouſly entertained in words, but indeed all the hoſtility offered to us, is amity to them, 'tis armes, monies, ſupplies ſent to them; their protection is involved in our deſtruction, and our graves are their ſtrongeſt bulwarks. But oh! how is it, that I am conſtrained to mention that deteſtable word *Ireland?* How is it, that that habitation of *Zim* and *Ohim* ſhould enter my mind, to make there as diſmall a manſion of horror as it ſelfe? Had I ſuch fountains of teares in my head as *Ieremiah* had, to power out upon the ſlaine *Proteſtants* there, 'twould be ſome relaxation of griefe to me; or had I the bitterneſſe of ſoule which *David* had, when the Image of *Iudas*, traytorouſly imbrued in his Lord and Saviours blood repreſented it ſelfe to him, that I might power out all his Propheticall execrations upon them, and their poſterities, who have animated and enabled the rebels there; (eſpeciall, if any of them were *Proteſtants*, or of the *Britiſh* race, or in high place of authority) that, perhaps, would disburthen the too too preſſing agonies of my ſpirit. But alas, alas, perhaps it is more ſeaſonable for me, to pray that the Celeſtiall groanes of *Manaſſes*, than the infernall tortures of *Iudas* may be given by God to thoſe deeplingaged ſinners, upon whom this woful guilt lies. I now wander, and am loſt; I muſt returne to the buſineſſe in hand: I heare ſome ſay, that the Parliament did firſt plot and contrive againſt the Court of *England*; and that all this in the Court hath beene but a defenſive contriving or counterplotting. Nothing more abſurd, nothing more impoſſible, nothing more inconſiſtant with the meanes, nothing more repugnant to the ends of Parliaments: we muſt ſuppoſe that there are about ten *Anabaptiſts* now in Parliament, that firſt expelled

pelled the major and better part there, and then overcame the major and better part of ſuch as remaine unexpelled; then by authority of *Parliament*, and the help of ſome few other *Anabaptiſts* in the City, they maſter and inſlave the major and better part alſo by far, and then by ſome tumults there raiſed, they drive the King and all his popiſh prelaticall courtly and militarie Adherents from the Citie; then they impoſe taxes upon the Kingdome, for the maintaining of divers Armies, and thereby tyrannize as the *Decemviri* did in Rome, in ſpite of King, in ſpite of Nobilitie, in ſpite of Gentrie, in ſpite of Commonaltie, in ſpite of *Proteſtants*, in ſpite of *Papiſts*, in ſpite of their owne Armies. And then not being ſufficiently diſconſonant to reaſon and nature, we muſt ſuppoſe that theſe ten Anabaptiſts have been in travaile with this deſigne almoſt 40 yeeres before King *Iames* began to comply with *Prelates* and *Papiſts*, and before *Prelates* and *Papiſts* began to conſpire againſt *Proteſtants*, under the names of *Puritans*, theſe Anabaptiſts were conſulting in a cloſe *Iunto*, how to get themſelves choſen of a *Parliament*, then how to get a *Parliament* call'd, then how to preſerve that *Parliament* from being ever diſſolv'd, then how to effect all theſe divine miracles, by ſuch meanes as none but themſelves ſhould ever be able to diſcerne or comprehend. Is not this a rare ſubject for our great wits at Court to work into Proclamations and Declarations? 'Tis reported that the Lord *Digby* of late, being at Mr. *Knightley's* houſe in Northampton-ſhire in a parlour there, whilſt his Souldiers were buſily ſearching, and plundring, and rifling other roomes, hee ſmote his hand upon the table, and ſwore; That that was the table whereat all theſe civill wars had been plotted at leaſt a dozen yeares before. It ſhould ſeeme Mr. *Pym* had ſojourned ſometime in that houſe and that was ſufficient for an inference, that the neſt of Anabaptiſts had been there too, and that that neſt had ſtudied ſomething, which neither our Kings Cabinet Councellours, nor the *Iunto's* of Italy or Spaine could make deſeiſable. But if there were ſome meanes for *Parliaments* thus

to debase *Prerogative*, and disable *Monarchy*. To what end should they attempt it? Is it for the felicitie of *Parliaments*, to subject themselves to ten unlimitable Anabaptists, rather than to endure one most admirably bounded *Prince*, and rather to make the whole Land a stage of bloud, horrour, and cruelty, than to be presidented by the loyaltie, policie, and religion of their Ancestours? Other men have spoken and written of this sufficiently. And besides, if it were possible, if it were profitable for *Parliaments* to turne publike oppressours, yet sense and experience tels us, that this *Parliament* hath not used any oppression, but with much difficultie been redeemed from oppression. But of this sufficiently also hath been written and spoken.

It remaines therefore, that we compare the means, the ends, the practices of Parliaments, with those of Princes, Papists, Prelates, &c. and taking a view of what hath been already set forth in this Discourse, parallel the same with that which is objected by the other side, and it cannot be denyed, but prelates and papists have been formerly conspirers and drawers on of the Scotch war, and other alterations in Church and State, as is here discovered. Then the question is, whether or no they have since desisted, or changed their resolutions: some change perhaps there is, but not such as may secure us; for before they did combat against us *de victoria*, now *de vita*; hope of victorie before inflamed them, but feare of ruine now exasperates them; and in this respect our danger is not the lesse, but the more.

FINIS.

Library of the
UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
New York